THE GENESIS OF THE SPANISH REFORMATION

Victor Manuel Rivera

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By

Victor Manuel Rivera

A THESIS

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

BACHELOR OF DIVINITY

in the

CHURCH DIVINITY SCHOOL OF THE PACIFIC

Berkeley, California
June, 1944

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INTRODUCTION

Spain has been greatly misunderstood, especially its religious problem. The modern tendency of labeling people and nations just by their incidental appearances is most unfortunate. To say that Spain has been a Roman Catholic country is only true to a certain extent; it is not even a half truth. For ten centuries the Peninsula had its autonomous church; it called its own councils, appointed its own bishops and managed its own affairs without any absentee bishop interfering. That branch of the Catholic Church planted in Spain from very early days grew and developed in parallel circumstances as did the nearby lands of Gaul and the British Isles. It developed its own liturgy and created a peculiar ecclesiastical architecture; the Church in Spain was as national as the language that it developed. It was not until the twelfth century that we find the Church in Spain has been invaded by Roman Catholic customs.

But these Roman ideas projected into Spain found there most vehement opponents. As the innovations grew so also did the abuse of doctrinal matters by the Roman Church. Voices of reform arose in the midst of fanaticism and ignorance against the intruders. Not only voices of protest

against Roman innovations, but against anything that was not genuine to that branch of the Catholic Church planted in Spain, were to be heard throughout the course of the slow but steady movement that can be called "The Genesis of the Spanish Reformation."

In the course of this thesis we will trace the beginnings of the Church in Spain, pointing out its different characteristics and influences: Arian, Roman Catholic and Protestant. The power of the Roman Church as the bulwark of the monarchy gained such strength in the Peninsula that the work of the reformers was never allowed to crystallize in any definite organized church. As we shall see, there were too many forces working against any idea of a reformation; above all we find the Inquisition, then the ignorance of the populace and the fanaticism of the kings were of no less significance.

A chronological order is followed as far as is possible in the course of this work, tracing the history from the earliest days of the Church in Spain up to the sixteenth century when the hope of a definite reformation disappears. Since it has not been possible to trace the history of such a movement through any entity of an organized church we will have to picture the men who were the leaders of the genesis of the Reformation in Spain. The principles and the ideas of the Reformation are to be found in the life and in the works of these men and to them we will refer in the course of these

chapters.

Of course, we cannot say that Spain ever had a religious reformation, but we certainly can point to Spain as having a most significant genesis for a reformation. The influence of the Lutheran, Anglican and Calvinistic reformers was felt in Spain very strongly but only for the sake of prosecution could Spaniards be so labeled for they were genuine Spanish reformers. True, they never attained anything definite that could endure, but they most certainly started something that should be remembered.

CHAPTER I

THE DAWN OF SPANISH CHRISTIANITY

Who was the first one to bring to Spain the Gospel of the "Good News"? We cannot find a categorical answer to this question. Tradition is very unreliable, for it offers no guarantee of its statements. Since the seventh century it has been thought that James (Santiago el Mayor) was the one who introduced the Evangel in Spain.[1] A thousand and one legends are told about this apostle and his supposed work in Spain. All the historical evidence as to the possibility of the stories is completely negative. On the other hand, the possibility that Saint Paul came to Spain and worked there is supported by ample evidence.[2] The real uncertainty is not if Saint Paul did come to Spain but to what part of Spain did he come, a question that cannot be answered with any scientific certainty. It is said to have been in Tortosa

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1. Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de Espana (Madrid: Grafica Universal, 1933), p. 3.

2. A document of the second century says that: "Saint Paul came to Spain...." Writers of the fourth century testify to the certainty of his visit: Athanathius, Chrysostom and also Origen and Eusebius. See Claudio Gutierrez Marin, Historia de la Reforma en Espana (Mexico, D.F.: Casa Unida de Publicaciones, S. de R.L., 1942), pp. 12-17; Pelayo, op. cit., p. 5.

that the Apostle founded the first Christian church, but the bishops of Toledo also claim the primacy of the Church in Spain. The reformers, and in general the non-Romanists of Spain, have upheld the Pauline tradition, while the Roman Catholics have held the Jacobean. And although we can see that the Romanists' tradition rests on very loose ground, yet most of Spain even to the present day continues believing as Marin says, "that James, a trooper on a fantastic saddle of a no less fantastic horse was the first to spread Christianity in old Iberia."[1]

The nature of early Christianity was thoroughly evangelistic, and it is not necessary to wait for Saint Paul, or any seven presbyters that Saint Peter possibly went to Spain,[2] in order to find the new religion practiced in the peninsula. Soldiers and merchants could have carried it there, as they possibly did to other places also. But again these conjectures take us out of the historical realm. In Spain Christianity spread faster than the Roman legions who were swarming over Europe. The persecutions that Rome undertook against the Christians of Spain were no less severe than those that took place in Rome and in Asia Minor. But if

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1. Marin, op. cit., p. 15.

2. Don Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los Heterodoxos Espanoles (Madrid: Libreria General de Victoriano Suarez, 1917), p. 17.

there is anything miraculous about early Spanish Christianity, it is the fact that the new religion spread in a fast and astonishing manner. By the time of Tertullian, Christianity had extended to the "omnes Termini," as far as the Cantabrian and the Asturian mountain regions, where they had been inaccessible to the Roman legions.[1] Despite the opposition that Christianity encountered from the polytheistic religions and especially from the emperor veneration cult, it spread faster than any other religion ever did in Spain. Villada affirms that by the middle of the third century all of southern Spain was evangelized and also most of Galicia and Cataluna. The same historian gives by geographical names the churches of that epoch. He mentions sixteen churches in the region of Galicia, twenty-four in Tarraconesse Spain, twenty-four in the region of Cartagena, thirty in the Betica and fourteen in Lusitania.[2] Shortly afterwards came the persecutions of the Church under Diocletian, perhaps the most terrible ones. The Christian churches received a hard blow. Many church buildings were destroyed, many books were burned, and thousands of Christians suffered martyrdom. In Zaragoza the victims of the persecution were so many that they came to be remembered as the "innumerable martyrs of Zaragoza,"

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1. Menendez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 22.

2. All the names of these churches are given by G. Marin, loc. cit.

and the great Spanish poet of that epoch refers to Zaragoza as "Patria Sanctorum Martirum."[1]

By 311 the persecutions ceased and once again Christianity flourished in the Peninsula. Then came Constantine to the seat of the Emperor. That Osio, Bishop of Cordoba, influenced the Emperor is not to be doubted, although not recognized. Christianity was first put at the same level with the other religions of the state, and later on it became the leading one. Christianity finds itself now without bridle, and a runaway without impediment. Christianity is no more attacked from the outside in the same way it had been up to 311; now it is on its own, and the infirmities that it will suffer are internal, but more acute than ever before. Secularism invades the ecclesiastical realm. The state, on the one hand, tries to embrace the Church; on the other hand, the Church invades the politics of the state. In such an amalgamation one of the two, sooner or later, is to predominate over the other, or, if not, they will come to be identical. In Spain the syncretism of the two is what has made its history so unique, so different from the rest of Europe. To say Spain and to say Catholic Spain is synonymous. But this individualistic character does not always work for the good of the Church nor of the nation. There

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1. Gutierrez Marin, op. cit., p. 23; Menendez y Pelayo, op. cit., pp. 17-23.

was a time when it proved practicable, and it was thought that Spain had the secret of the perfect state; but we have seen a different result from such a policy, and Spain is far from being the prototype of the state. What happened to Spain was that it reached a point of saturation and then became stagnant, stagnant to the point of receding into an obscure corner in the history of the world. But this condition of Spain is not the result of the Middle Ages, less of the modern epoch; the causes for Spain being such as it is are to be found far back in its history, and especially in the first centuries of the Christian era when so many elements were at work moulding the character of its future.

The coming of the Goths, the Moors, the Jews, the coming of people to Spain across the Pyrenees or from other parts of Europe by sea was to mould the character of the Spain that was and that is. But above all, Christianity, sometimes well used, other times misused, was what shaped the destiny of the nation. Thoughts and sentiments of early days helped to make Spain the land where the sun never sets; but also the thought and sentiments of early days contributed to shape the character and the work of those who perished in the "autos de fe," or were forced to wander away from the land which they loved and cherished so much.

CHAPTER II

THE CATHOLIC, THE ARIAN AND THE ROMAN CHURCH IN SPAIN

Spain developed an autonomous church: it called its own councils without having to resort outside its boundaries. Among the councils that were held were those of Iliberis near Granada in 306, Zaragoza in 380, and the famous one of Toledo in 400. But perhaps the Spanish Church was growing too rapidly as a nationalistic and yet catholic church, and so the bishop of Rome, even before the year 400, saw the necessity of looking toward the west so as to prevent that fast growing church from falling into the same conditions that the Eastern Church was already creating for itself. At that time something happened in Southern Europe that came to shake the very foundations of the Christian Church. The invasions of the Barbarians swept over the Mediterranean lands; Rome was sacked and its bishop had to forget Spain and its church's problems in order to take care of himself and of his Roman Church. Even before this happened there were voices of protest in Spain. During the fourth century there was a loud cry against the corruptions

within the church's pale. When, later on, the bishop of Rome started to meddle in the affairs of the Spanish Church a greater protest was heard.

In the fourth century appeared Priciliano, who was the first martyr under this Romanized Spanish Christianity which was invading Spain. He was bishop of Avila and a great Scriptural scholar, who composed a concordance of the Epistles of Saint Paul, and is said to have been the first one to divide the Bible into chapters and verses. He has been claimed by the Protestants as the first one to die because of practising individual interpretation of the Bible and the doctrines of the Church. In 385 he was beheaded as a heretic. But not even the Roman Church claims that he was a heretic; and they say that he was condemned for being a magician.[1]

Vigilancio (Vigilantius) was another one of those restless souls who wanted to see the best made of the present and was always searching for the means to combat ignorance. After spending part of his life in Palestine with Jerome and later in Alexandria, he returned to Spain as bishop of Barcelona. There he attempted some reforms, but we have no record of how far he went, nor what was his end.[2]

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1. Gutierrez Marin, op. cit., pp. 31-33.

2. Ibid., p. 34. Also John Stoughton, The Spanish Reformers, Their Memories and Dwelling-places (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1883), p. 1.

The Visigoths came swarming into Spain. Ataulfo came to Barcelona and brought with him Arianism, learned from Ulfhilas. The Visigoths were not as ruthless as the Vandals who went into Andalucia. The regions that came under the hand of Ataulfo had a good deal of liberty, as well as those under Sigerico, Walia, Teodorado, Turismundo and Teodorico. When Eurico consolidated all these regions and they came under his government he forgot about the liberties of the conquered and they came to suffer much. Many priests were killed and others suffered imprisonment. Under his successor Alarico the persecutions were not so strong. Under the excuse of combating Arianism, Clovis the king of the Franks, who had been recently converted to Orthodox Christianity, marched against the Visigoths that were still in the Galias. Alarico banished two bishops, one from Tours and one from Rodez, for they were thought to be adherents of Clovis. Clovis defeated Alarico in Vougle.

When Amalarico came to the throne an incident happened which made the relations between the Gauls and the Visigoths more tense. Amalarico had married Clotilde, daughter of Clovis, who professed the Catholic faith. She was not allowed to worship in her own way, and it is said that she received ill treatment from her husband. The French decided to avenge the affronts that Clotilde had suffered. They defeated Amalarico and carried back with them Clotilde and much spoil

of war.[1] From now on the Catholics were not persecuted, but instead many French came and took positions in the Catholic churches of Spain. From now on the Visigoths were more liberal with the Catholic Church. Many provincial synods took place and the influence of the Catholic faith was predominant over that of the Visigoths, who never were very fanatic as to their beliefs.[2]

Yet there was one king that was exceptional among his own. Leovigildo was a fervent Arian, and a ruler of strong character and of high desires. His son Hermenegildo married a Catholic princess, Ingunda. She succeeded in converting him to the Catholic faith. For this reason there began a war between father and son. Leovigildo won the battle and Hermenegildo was banished to Valencia where he suffered martyrdom for not being willing to take the sacrament from the hands of an Arian bishop. His memory has been cherished by all who try to help the oppressed and to defend the faith. Leovigildo is said also to have died in the bosom of the Catholic faith.[3] His son Recaredo, who succeeded him, made a profession of the Catholic faith at the third Council of

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1. Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de Espana, p. 11.

2. Menendez y Pelayo, Heterodoxos Espanoles, Tomo II, pp. 151-167.

3. Ibid., II, 179-189.

Toledo, 589. In this council Recaredo declared that he intended to follow the doctrine of the four Great General Councils and to reject the errors condemned by them.[1]

The councils of Spain and not the bishop of Rome were the deciding voice in matters pertaining to the Catholic Church in Spain--more particularly the councils of Toledo. As an index of the culture in Spain in the seventh century Menendez y Pelayo points to the Toledean Councils and to the gigantic figure of Isidoro (Hisidore). It was in the fourth council of Toledo that the liturgy was discussed and was made uniform. Under the leadership of Isidoro Spanish theology and Spanish Christianity in general assume a peculiar characteristic: that of being Spanish. Well has it been pointed out by Pelayo and by Alvaro Cordobes that the Mozarabes wrote much and labored hard, and many of them died heroically for the faith and the things for which Isidore stood.[2] But the influence of Isidoro de Sevilla is not limited to Spain; it crossed the Pyrenees and entered into the court of Charlemagne. The literary renaissance that took place in the court of this king, protector of culture, was not under the sole influence of the Irish monks, for Alcuin owed much to Isiodoro. Were not also

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1. Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los Heterodoxos Espanoles, p. 180.

2. Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de Espana, p. 22.

Isidorians Felix de Urgel, Claudio de Turin, Teodulfo and Prudencio Galindo, the great adversary of the pantheistic teachings of Scotus Erivgena?[1]

Claudio, who became bishop of Turin, was a cultural and spiritual descendant of Vigilancio and of Felix, bishop of Urgel, another anti-Romanist of the ninth century. He was a fervent student of the works of Augustin; he wrote many commentaries on the Holy Scriptures; he was an iconoclast and attacked the innovations that the Roman Church was trying to introduce into Spain, such as the adoration of the cross and of images. He was the precursor of the ideas that we later find in the works of Juan Valdes.[2] He died in 839 while still bishop of Turin.

Spain had become Catholic because the Visigoths had come to reject their Arian heresies and to acknowledge the Catholic beliefs as set forth by the general councils. The Catholicity of that country was not due to conformity to the rites of the Church of Rome, nor to the acknowledgment of its pontifs, for this Spain did not do until centuries afterwards. The ecclesiastical affairs of Spain were managed by that branch of the Catholic Church in Spain without the interference of the See of Rome for many decades, even after

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1. Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de Espana, p. 23.

2. Gutierrez Marin, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

the suppression of Arianism. Doctor M'Crie, in his History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain, very lucidly points this out, especially in relation to the incident between the bishop of Rome and the Spanish bishops in connection with the sixth ecumenical council.[1] It seems that the Spanish Church did not have a representation at that council held in Constantinople. The main issue of discussion was the heresy of the Monothelites, which was condemned by the council. Leo II, bishop of Rome, sent the acts of the councils to Spain requesting the bishops to sanction them. No immediate conciliar action was taken by the bishops of Spain, but the bishops authorized Julian, archbishop of Toledo, to transmit a rescript to Rome intimating in general their approbation of the sixth general council and stating at considerable length the sentiments of the Spanish Church on the controverted point. The following year a council convened at Toledo, where the matter was duly considered, and in which they proceeded in such a manner as to evince their determination to preserve at once the purity of the faith and the independence of the Spanish Church. In relation to the decision of the Constantinople they said:

> Wherefore, we agree that the acts of the

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1. Thomas M'Crie, History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century (London: T. Cadell, Strand, 1829), pp. 15-18.

> said council be reverenced and received by us, inasmuch as they do not differ from the aforesaid councils (that is the first four and especially that of Chalcedon) but rather they appear to coincide with them. We allot to them therefore that place in point of order to which the merit entitles them. Let them come after the council of Chalcedon, by whose light they shine.

The council approved the document that Julian had sent to the bishop of Rome and considered it "a lucid exposition of the truth concerning the double will and operation of Christ."[1]

But it happened that the council of Constantinople had condemned the bishop of Rome, Honorius I, as an abettor of the Monothelite heresy, which is one of the things over which the upholders of the doctrine of papal infallibility had to hurdle. In view of this and in view of the fact that the bishop of Rome was meddling too much in Spanish matters, the council of Toledo proceeded to advance a proposition which strikes at the roots of the papal claims, by deciding that the rock on which the Church is built is the faith confessed by Saint Peter, and not the papal person or office.[2]

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 17. As quoted by Dr. M'Crie from Concil. Tolet. XIV. capit. 5, 6, 7, 11; Labbe, Collect. Concil, Tom vi, 1280-1284; Harduin, Acta Concil, Tom iii, pp. 1754-1756.

2. Ibid., p. 17 ("Scientes igitur solam esse fidei confessionem quae vincat infernum, quae superat tartarum; de hac enim dide a Domino dictum est, 'Portae inferni non praevalebunt contra eam'." Ib. capit. 10: Harduin, ut supra, p. 1756).

But of course when such a statement from the Spanish bishop reached Rome, it met with the disapproval of Benedict II, who had succeeded Leo in the See of Rome. He then asked the Spanish bishops, through a deputy, to correct their expressions which savored of error. In answer to this request, the Spanish prelates drew up and sanctioned a labored vindication of the paper which had given offense to the bishop of Rome. They accused him of having given a careless and cursory perusal of their rescript, and of having passed over those parts of it which were necessary to an understanding of its meaning. After confirming their position by quotations from the fathers and from the New Testament, they concluded in these terms:

> If, after this statement, and the sentiments of the fathers from which it has been taken, any person shall dissent from us in any thing, we will have no further dispute with him, but, keeping steadily in the plain faith, and treading in the footsteps of our predecessors, we are persuaded that our answer will commend itself to the approbation of all lovers of truth who are capable of forming a divine judgment, though we may be charged with obstinacy by the ignorant and envious. [1]

The independence of the Spanish Church can be also fully vindicated by the form of worship of that church up to the eleventh century. The fourth council of Toledo in 633

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 19 (Concil. Tolet. XV, post symbolum: Labbe, VI. 1296-1303. Harduin, III, 1759-1767).

passed a decree that one uniform order of liturgy should be used; and the Gothic, or Isidorian, liturgy was the one adopted.[1] This liturgy was different from that of Rome as well as from other liturgies that were used in Spain, or, for that case, in France or even in Italy. The adopted liturgy came to be best known as the Mozarabic.[2] It was not until the eleventh century that some Romanizers exerted pressure to supplant that early liturgy with the Roman. When Richard, abbot of Marseilles, then papal legate, exerted all his influence in favor of the Roman missal, he found great opposition among the prelates, the nobility and the people in general. The protest was loudest in Toledo and those places where the Mozarabes were largest in number. Alfonso the sixth, then king, had married for his second wife Constance of the royal house of France, who through the influence of Richard of Marseilles preferred the Roman liturgy to any other. The attempt to supplant the liturgy gave rise to a great controversy. To decide the controversy, recourse was taken, as was the custom in the middle ages, to a combat between two knights. Although the champion of the Mozarabic liturgy prevailed, it was thought not convincing to the king

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1. See above, p. 13.

2. Other names by which this liturgy is known are: The Ildelfoncian by whom it was revised, also Mixtarabic because it was used by the Christians of Spain who lived during the dominion of the Moors.

and so he decided to submit the question to the "judgment of God." Both liturgies were thrown into the fire. The Mozarabic is said to have resisted the flames and the Roman was consumed, but it is also said that the ashes of the Roman liturgy, curling on the top of the flames, leaped out. Then the king and the archbishop of Toledo, Bernad, who was a Frenchman, ordered that the public services were to be said according to the Roman usage. The incidentals of the story may not be true, but many things can be seen in this incident that assist us in understanding better the trend of the Spanish Church. It is evident that the Church in Spain was autonomous and with characteristics peculiar to itself.[1] It is also evident that the kings were turning themselves into satellites of the pope. "The law goes as the king chooses," is said to have been the proverb of those days after the incident of the liturgies.[2]

The first mass performed in Spain according to the Roman form was celebrated in the Grand Mosque of Toledo on October 25, 1086.[3] This date can be said to mark the transition from a Spanish Church that is indigenous and pure to that of a Romanized Church, foreign and bigoted. Having

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1. All the national churches were so at that time.

2. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 25.

3. Stoughton, op. cit., p. 6.

once obtained a footing in the Peninsula, the popes pushed their claims, until at last the whole nation, including both ecclesiastical and civil authorities, acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman See.[1]

From now on the history of Spain is seen to be the history of a nation that lives to pay tribute to the pope and to the ecclesiastics who became his satelites. In 1204, Don Pedro II, eight years after becoming king, went to Rome to be crowned by the pope Innocent III. There he gave his oath that he and his successors would be faithful to the Church of Rome. In the chapel of Saint Peter the pope delivered the sword to the king, who, armed as a cavalier, dedicated all his dominions to Saint Peter, the prince of the apostles, and to Innocent III and his successors, as a fief of the church. Such an action of the king was not approved by the nobility in Spain nor by the people in general; they complained that their liberties were sold, and that power was given to the pope to disturb the peace of the kingdom at his pleasure.[2]

Soon this sentiment was to be vindicated: the same king was laid under sentence of excommunication for violating one of his oaths, and his grandson, Pedro the Great,

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 26.

2. Ibid., pp. 27f. (Zurita, tom. 1, f. 22-90).

was deprived of his kingdom. All this led to a civil war and to the invasion of Aragon by the French. Attempts of later monarchs to shake off this oath of submission were futile, Spain was condemned to be under the yoke of Rome for a long time. There was no means of making any compromise with Rome; Rome had to have its own way. There was a need for men who could challenge this monster, and Spain produced many of them.

CHAPTER III

NON-ROMAN CATHOLICS PERSECUTED

By the eleventh century there was a group of provinces in southern France which, although inferior in strength to the rest of the country, was superior in civilization. They had advanced in commerce, in arts, in politics, in literature and religiously they were ahead of their own time. Such a people could not just accept implicitly the dogmas and the beliefs that were to be transmitted to them by a clergy which became famous for its disorderly and vicious living, to the point that the proverb, "I would rather be a priest than have done such a thing," was the common expression among the people upon hearing of an unworthy action.[1] Of necessity some reformers had to arise in an epoch like that. The Albigenses and the Waldenses were among those who dared to challenge the Church of Rome and insisted in the purification of the Church. Pedro de Bruys is regarded as the founder of the sect. His followers came to be called "Los Puros" because of their strict and pure life and customs. They

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 29.

insisted on doing away with the Roman innovations and on going back to the original primitive Christianity as practiced by the early Church and as exemplified in the New Testament. Bruys was burned at the stake, but his death only served to increase the zeal of his followers, and to cause them to labor harder for their cause. A few decades after his death, Pedro de Valdo, a rich merchant of Lyon, sold all of his possessions and distributed the proceeds among the poor. The sect of the Waldenses increased very rapidly. It came to be called: "The Poor Men of Lyon" or "Insabatos".[1]

The intimate relationship between Spain and the south of France had great influence in the fate of these reformers. Many of them, having crossed the Pyrenees, settled in the northern part of Spain as early as the twelfth century. It seems that for a time they were not disturbed, but by the end of the century Pope Celestin III prevailed on Alfonso II to publish an edict that the Vaudois be made to leave that territory. The edict was passed, but it did not produce great effect; so three years later it was renewed in a very drastic manner. Nevertheless Pedro was still favorable to the sect and went so far as to join in battle for the cause

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1. Gutierrez Marin, op. cit., 38. The reason they were called "Insabatos" was because their shoes were torn as a sign of poverty.

of the Albigenses.[1] The Albigenses settled in great numbers in Catalonia and in Aragon. There they had their own churches and their own bishops, who boldly preached their doctrine.[2] They were becoming a great menace to Rome and Rome could not tolerate such heretics.

In 1215 was held the fourth Lateran council, while Innocent III was pope. This council was the one which organized an ecclesiastical body, different from that of the bishops, to be in charge of discovering and persecuting heresies wherever they existed. This body was to depend on the authority of the pope and also would be above any royal power. The main mission of this new group was to inquire (inquirir), to search with earnestness, and so it was called the Inquisition. The Dominican friars were sent as Inquisitors by the Pope Gregory IX. In 1237 the flames of persecution were kindled in the Cerdagne and Castlebon, forty-five persons being condemned, of which fifteen were burned alive, and eighteen disinterred bodies were cast into the fire.[3] Later on in Barcelona the bones of Raymond, count of Forcaliquier and Urgel, of Arnold, viscount of Catlebon, and of his daughter were disinterred and burned. The bishops of

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 34.

2. Ibid. (Mat. Paris, ad. an. 1214).

3. Ibid., p. 35 (Llorente, 1, 72).

Leon, especially Lucas de Troy and later on Rodrigo, sent to the stake many of noble rank. In Barcelona, Father Bonanato and Brenguer de Montfalco, both of the Cistercian monastery of Poblet, suffered death together with many others thought of as heretics.[1] In Aragon, the inquisitor Fr. Nicolas Aymerich sent so many into prison and so many to the stake that he has come to be known in history as "father of Torquemada". He also wrote "Guia de los Inquisidores," which came to be truly the guide of the inquisitors.[2] The persecution of the Albigenses and the Waldenses lasted for over two centuries. Scarcely a year passed in which numbers were not barbarously led to the stake. During the second and third decades of the fifteenth century a great number of persons were sent to the stake, for they were sought to entertain the sentiments of the Vaudois. "It appears," says M'Crie, quoting Llorente and Doctor Michael Geddes' Miscellaneous Tracts, "that the followers of Wickliffe had migrated to the Peninsula; for in 1441, the inquisitors of Aragon and Valentia reconciled some of them to the church, and condemned others to the fire as obstinate heretics."[3]

During the time of John II, king of Castile, a band

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1. Gutierrez Marin, op. cit., p. 43.

2. Ibid.

3. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 42.

of musketeers was sent to scour the mountains of Biscay, and the higher districts of Old Castile; these drove down the heretics like cattle before them, and delivered them to the inquisitor, by whom they were committed to the flames at San Domingo de la Calzado, and Valladolid.[1] This was the fate of the Albigenses and Waldenses. It took the Inquisition over two centuries to get rid of these early reformers. But Rome with its inquisitors was once again gaining a foothold in Spain, this time stronger than the one they had during the time of the Scipios and the Augustans. Now, instead of sending the Roman legions, they sent monks and friars. The convents increased in number very rapidly; they were the centers of the pope's fifth column.

But Rome was not satisfied with suppressing the ideas of the reformers and condemning them; they also added doctrine upon doctrine, and Spain was a fertile soil for propagating them. The doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin met with believers in other countries; but Spain could boast of an order of nuns consecrated to the honor of the new mystery. The idea of transubstantiation was not only interpreted in relation to the elements of the mass, but men such as Bonet and Matron maintained that St. John the Evangelist became the real son of the Virgin Mary, in

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 43.

consequence of his body being transubstantiated into that of Christ, by the words pronounced on the cross, "Ecce filius tuus."[1] Neither did Rome allow anybody to read the Bible in the vernacular. In 1233 a constitution was published in Tarragona saying "that nobody can have the books of the Old and New Testament in the vulgar tongue (romance), and that within eight days they are to be given to the bishop of the diocese to be burned."[2] This was the first time that the Bible in the vernacular was persecuted and it almost disappeared from the Spanish country.

It is evident that the state of the church in those days was most reprehensible. Even the most biased Romanist has to accede to the fact that the morals of the church were at a very low ebb. There were, however, some prelates, and also laymen, who did not hesitate to criticize, and to try to reform such conditions. Among those that accused publicly the clergy of extravagant luxury, simony and forty other vices were the bishop of Silves, Alvaro Pelaez, and also Father Jacobo de Venavente, who did not hesitate to call his colleagues mercenaries and gluttons. The bishop of Sevilla criticized very strictly the concubinage of the

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., pp. 50-51 (Illescas, Hist. Pontifical, tom. 1, f. 269; Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vet., tom. 11, pp. 187, 188).

2. Gutierrez Marin, op. cit., p. 44.

clergy. Pedro Ruiz and the well known Juan Ruiz, archpriest de Hita, both portray in satirical poems the conditions prevailing in the Roman Church, and especially at Rome:

> Si tovieres dineros, habras consolacion,
> Plaser, e alegria, del Papa racion,
> Compraras parasiso, ganaras salvacion,
> Do son muchos dineros, es mucha benedicion.
>
> Yo vi en corte de Roma, do es la santidat,
> Que todos al dinero fasen grand homilidat,
> Grand honra le fascian con grand solenidat,
> Todos a el se himillan como a la magestat.
>
> Fasie muchos Priores, Obispos, et Abades,
> Arzobispos, Doctores, Patriarcas, Potestades,
> A muchols Clerigos nescios dabales dinidades,
> Fasie de verdat mentiras, et de mentiras verdades.
>
> Fasia muchos Clerigos e muchos ordenados,
> Muchos monges e monjas, religiosos sagrados,
> El dinero los daba por bien examinados,
> A los pobres desian, que no eran letrados.[1]

Many poems like this saw the light in those days and many an author like this was taken and put in prison for life. Great men of letters during that time like Juan de la Encina and Torres Naharro brought to light in their poems and in their dramas the vices among the ecclesiastics. Pedro Lopez de Ayala in his work Rimado de Palacios criticizes strongly the clergy and their manners, and advocates a religion based on the Gospels and the Apostolic letters. Antonio Lebrixa became to Spain what Valla was to Italy, Bude to France and

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 59 (Coleccion, tom. IV, p. 76).

Erasmus to Germany.[1] Then also, Francisco Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, who advocated reforms for the clergy, also promoted learning, especially the study of Latin, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic and Greek. Under his patronage, if nothing else, was published the Complutensian Polyglot. While Ximenes has been somewhat lavishly remembered, few historians have recalled the great professor of theology at Salamanca, Pedro de Osma, who is remembered by the Protestants as the Spanish Huss. He employed his talents in correcting the original text of the New Testament by a critical collation of different manuscripts. In 1479 he was forced to abjure eight propositions relating to the power of the pope. For his statements he was thrown into prison by Pope Sixto.

Other names there are of persons who, although regarded as most faithful within the pale of the Church, nevertheless were advocates of a reform and of a Catholic Church truly Spanish and not Roman. The Spanish mystic San Juan de la Cruz is among them: he was once examined by the Inquisition, for he was thought dangerous to their cause. Still other luminaries of that epoch were Santa Teresa de Jesus, Fray Luis de Leon and Luis Vives. The archbishop of Dublin, Lord Plunket, in his introduction to the English

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 61.

version of Dr. Wilkins' work on Spanish Protestants in the Sixteenth Century,[1] points out how well-nigh impenetrable were the mists of error and superstition that overshadowed the Church of Spain during the five centuries which followed her submission to the Church of Rome by the end of the eleventh century. But he also, as few Anglo-Saxon writers have done, brings to the light the work of those who were examples of holiness and self-denial among the votaries of that Church; and from time to time is heard the voice of some Baptist-like reformer--some "vox clamantis in deserto" vainly protesting against the formalities and venalities of his age. But the Church in general was in darkness, and never was there so much gross darkness than during the five hundred years after Rome usurped the rights of the Catholic Church in Spain.

> But then indeed there burst forth from the rifted clouds a bright gleam of hope, radiant with the promise of coming dawn. Never was the Gospel more faithfully proclaimed than by the Spanish reformers of the sixteenth century. Nowhere during the Reformation days did a nobler band of martyrs witness more bravely to the truth than those who perished at the stake in Seville and Valladolid.... It is a tale of infinite pathos. How are we to account for it? Considered apart from the over-ruling providence of God, what was there, humanly speaking,

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1. C. A. Wilkens, Spanish Protestants in the Sixteenth Century, comp. from the German by Rachel Challice, with Introduction by the late Most Reverend Lord Plunket (London: William Heinemann, 1897), pp. xiv f.

> in the movement that prevented it from developing to success, as was the case with similar movements in our own and other lands? Partly, no doubt, because of the terrible foe with which, in the person of the Inquisition, it had to contend.[1]

The Inquisition, which was started with the main purpose of doing away with the Albigenses and Waldenses, was thought a great success by Rome and its satellites. But it happened that under the name of Albigenses or Waldenses many suffered who did not have the least idea what the heresies of the former were and who never claimed or thought to belong to, or to be considered one of them. But it was expedient to give an accusation and therefore they were tried as professing these heresies. Why not revive this system in order to check up on these new reformers; who were still more dangerous, for most of them came from within the pale of the Church and many of them from high ranks both socially and ecclesiastically? And so they did; the Inquisition was resurrected, this time more hideous, more cruel, more ambitious than ever before. The great monster appears this time under the protection of the Catholic monarchs with the name of "Santo Tribunal Inquisitorial". There were three groups of people which combined their forces in order to procure three things: religious unity, territorial unity, and political unity, and these three groups of people were the

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1. Wilkens, op. cit., p. xvi.

Papacy, the monarchs and the Inquisitors, which became a political branch even stronger than the monarchs. At the head of the Tribunal Inquisitorial was placed Fray Tomas de Torquemada in 1483. Spain, though in general very badly corrupted with Romish ideas, still preserved a sense of liberty and dignity; many were the protests when the Santo Tribunal was organized. Under the pretext of safeguarding the country and the Church from the Jews and from some non-Catholic Africans that were settled in Spain the Inquisition started its work. It was a lucrative business, for the Jews were rich and their properties were confiscated; or else they had to sell them for a meager price when banished from the country, since they could not take property with them.

The king, the pope and the Inquisitors filled their purses at the expense of the Jews under pretext of safeguarding the Faith. After the Inquisitors had finished their work in Spain many of them came to America where they, under the excuse of converting the Indians, robbed them of their very lives, to say nothing of their possessions. In Spain the Inquisition, even by 1478, was practised throughout all the country. It must be said that Queen Isabella protested against its institution in Castilla, Leon and Andalucia, but against her wishes the king, Ferdinand of Aragon, Torquemada, and the Pope decided that the Inquisition was for all Spain.

The infamous history of the Inquisition has been told by many a writer. None of them can be accused of exaggerating the acts of the Inquisition. As to the accusation of a person: if it did not rest on the most superstitious prejudices, behind it could be seen envy, avarice or hate. Many were accused through the confessional, many were accused either by their own brothers or their own mothers. Anonymous information was received by the Inquisitors without any scruples. One prosecution led to a chain of people who innocently suffered.[1]

The immense apparatus used to bring forth incriminating evidence was underhanded, shameful and stained with infamy and opprobrium. The tortures inflicted upon the accused can hardly be paralleled by any others in history. The rack and the pulley have passed into history as emblems of that Santisima Inquisition. The "sanbenito"[2] was the prisoners'

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., pp. 90-107 ("Quando los Inquisidores se juntan a ver las testificaciones que resultan de alguna visita, o de otra manera, o que por otra qualquier causa se huviere recebido...," Instrucciones de 1561, art. 1). Janet Gordon, The Spanish Inquisition (New York: Dodd and Mead), p. 15.

2. "Those who were sentenced to penance, imprisonment or confiscation, wore a sanbenito upon which a simple red cross was portrayed. Those who were allowed the favor of being strangled before they were burned, had, on the contrary a sanbenito with bust painted on it, surrounded with flames pointing downwards; while those sentenced to be burned alive had sanbenitos reserved for them embroidered with busts consuming in flames, pointing upward...." Gordon, op. cit., p. 15.

dress; it was a robe of infamy, of a coarse, yellow, woolen stuff, divided by means of figures painted upon it into three grades, which served to intimate to the wearer the degree of severity of his sentence. Whatever the sentence was, either penance, confiscation, imprisonment or death, it was not communicated to the prisoner until the morning of the "auto de fe".[1]

The Inquisition found many victims with which to quench its thirst for blood and oppression. Just to have an idea of the numbers that fell within their claws: it is computed that from 1481 to 1520 in Andalusia alone thirty thousand persons informed against themselves in dread of being accused by others, or in the hope of obtaining mitigation of their sentence.[2] According to Puigblanch's The Inquisition

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1. The auto de fe was a public solemnity usually performed on Sundays and attended by royalty, higher ecclesiastics and inquisitors. A prelate preached the sermon and then he absolved the penitents "a culpa", leaving them under the obligation to bear the several punishments adjudged to them, and exorted those present to keep to and die in the faith. The sentences having been read, they proceeded to execute them. The "Quemandero" was there waiting for those who were to be burned alive, those who were to be strangled and then burned and for the effigies that were to be burned. The first public auto de fe of Protestants was in Valladolid on Trinity Sunday, 1559, in the presence of Don Carlos and Dona Juana. There sixteen were burned at the stake. M'Crie, op. cit., pp. 274-331; Gordon, op. cit., pp. 15-18; Henry C. Lea, LL.D., A History of the Inquisition in Spain (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906).

2. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 105(quoting Puigblanch, Inquisition Unmasked, I, 158).

Unmasked, the number of reconciled and banished in Andalusia from 1480 to 1500 was a hundred thousand; while forty-five thousand were burned alive in the archbishopric of Seville.[1] Or perhaps Llorente's figures, which have been thought of as falling far below the real estimate, will serve better to indicate the numbers that fell under the Inquisition: one hundred and sixty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-three were condemned by the several tribunals of Spain within a period of thirty years.[2]

So much has been written in relation to the atrocities of the Inquisition that it appears as if the executioners are the ones to be remembered, and not the martyrs. The greater number of the condemned were Christians, while there were also Jews and Moors in certain places that were condemned; but most of those that came to the auto de fe were the so-termed heretics. The noble army of martyrs that suffered during this period in Spain are not remembered as they deserved by posterity. Many of their names have passed into oblivion, perhaps by the pressure that the darkness of the Inquisition has exerted in the history of Spain. Spain does not seem to be remembered as the country of the Valdes, the

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 104 (from Mariana, Hist. Hisp., xxiv, c. 17).

2. Ibid. (these numbers taken from the calculations of Lorente: Tom. I, 272-281).

Encinas, or the Carranzas but as the land of Torquemada and Philip II: not as the land of a people that worked and struggled for a long time in search of truth and liberty but as the land where oppression and fanaticism have reigned. Spain has been thought of as the land that does not know the Bible, and so very little is known of the many efforts and the many lives that dedicated themselves to the popularization of the Bible in the vernacular; yes, and a long time before other so-called advanced countries sought to produce a vernacular Bible, Spain had its own. It has been said that the efforts of the Spanish reformers of the sixteenth century were just a small influence due to Luther in Spain, it being forgotten that there were reformers like Valdes who wrote against Luther and his doctrines, that the influence of Erasmus was greater than that of the German reformer. It has been forgotten, or perhaps not known, that Spain could also produce original thinkers and men who, had it not been because of the black curtain of the Inquisition that isolated Spain from the rest of reformed Europe, would stand on a par with Erasmus, Melancthon, Hooker, Calvin or Luther.

CHAPTER IV

LUTHERANISM AND ERASMISM IN SPAIN

When Henry VIII was king of England and Charles I was king of Spain and also was Charles V of Germany, Europe and England had risen from slumber and were quite awake to the light of the new era that was to start. The "Great Awakening" was coming to be a reality in every aspect of life, and religion came to take a leading place in the new movement which was to be the root and the foundation of the modern culture.

The appearance of Luther in Germany with his radical ideas and the boldness with which he attacked Rome soon attracted general attention throughout Christendom. From Antwerp came into Spain the works of the German ex-monk. Due to the relationship between Spain and Germany through the crown it was natural that these two countries were in close connection. Alfonso Valdes was by that time secretary to Charles V and accompanied him in his travels. At the request of Peter Martyr, Valdes sent to Spain an account of the religious dispute in Germany, from the declaration of Luther against indulgences to his burning of the pontifical

decrees at Wittenberg. In his letters he points out the definite need of reform and ascribes the continuance of the evil to the pope's aversion to a general council. He refers to the pope as tenaciously adhering to his rights and shutting his ears under the influence of a pious feeling, perhaps wishing to have Luther devoted to the flames, a thing that would cause the whole Christian commonwealth to go into ruin.[1]

Another Spaniard who was in Germany at the same time, Francisco de Angelis, on his way back to Spain, had a conference with Conrad Pellican, with whom he professed to agree upon most points. In his letter to Spain he wrote most favorably of Luther; he also pointed out the great displeasure of the pope at the ideas that some bishops in Germany condemned the pontifical power in that country. And furthermore said that the pope was also displeased with Erasmus in Holland for the same reason.[2]

In 1521 Pope Leo X issued two briefs prohibiting the introduction of Luther's books in Spain. This the Inquisition followed up to the best of its ability. That the books

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 125. Valdes' first letter is dated from Brussels, September 1520, and a second one from Worms the next year.

2. Ibid., p. 126 (this is taken from Llorente's History).

of Luther were read very widely in Spain is best noted by Erasmus's remark in a letter of his to Luis Vives: "The Spaniards favoured Luther, in order that they might be thought Christians"; a remark characteristic of the wit of Erasmus, which gave the duke of Alba great offense.

The persecution against the Lutherans started vigorously from the first, and began against some of the most learned men in the kingdom. Pedro de Lerman, professor of divinity in Alcala, was denounced to the Inquisition for entertaining Lutheran opinions, and he fled to Paris. Soon he was followed by his nephew, Luis de Cadena. Juan de Vergara, one of the editors of the Polyglot, was seized by the Santo Oficio, put in prison and was only let out after he abjured the heresy of Luther and submitted to certain penances.

By this time there was in England a Spaniard by the name of Luis Vives. Vives had met Erasmus in Holland and acquired a very close friendship with him. In a letter which he wrote to him he says:

> We live in difficult times, in which one can neither speak nor be silent without danger. Vergara and his brother Tovar, with other learned men in Spain, have been apprehended.[1]

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 130 (Llorente, II, 7, 8, Epixtolae T. Mori et L. Vives, col. 114).

People were now persecuted for being Lutherans, but under this denomination were imprisoned, and apprehended men who did not have the slightest idea of holding Lutheran doctrines. This is well seen in the case of Valdes, the emperor's secretary, and Virves, the emperor's chaplain. When they returned to Spain they were accused and put in prison for holding Lutheran ideas. In vain Virves tried to point out that he himself had written a book against the Lutheran doctrines, which he had prepared for the press, and in vain did the emperor himself intercede for these two men. The Inquisition was too strong, and did not listen to the prisoner, nor to reason, nor to the king. Under the accusation of Lutheranism every sort of heresy was persecuted. The impression of Luther in Spain had been very great, both to those who thought of him as a reformer, and by those who thought of him as a heretic. But there was another man who only resembled Luther in the fact that they were both very intelligent men; this was Erasmus.

There came a time when the Spanish monks had to turn aside from searching after the writings of Luther, in their anxiety to suppress those of Erasmus, from which they dreaded more immediate danger. This learned man had many friends in Spain, who were so confident in their strength, as to write him that they expected to be victorious in the contest. Unfortunately they saw things taking a different

course. His adversaries in Spain were much more numerous than his friends, and in 1527 his Colloquies, his Praise of Folly and his Paraphrase of the New Testament were prohibited in Spain. "How I am to be pitied!" he used to exclaim, "the Lutherans attack me as a convicted papist, and the Catholics run me down as friend of Luther."[1]

Ibarra, the historian, points out that everywhere men of good will were found; they were engaged in combatting the evils which Erasmus had ridiculed. In Spain he had friends and enemies, among the latter, two of them were Diego Lopez Zuniga, who, in order to attack the great humanist, used as his arguments insult upon insult by calling him, "heretic, impious, and head of all Lutherans"; and Ignacio de Loyola, who had been very good with the sword but who was a child in comparison with the intellect of Erasmus; for this reason his attack did not make the least impression.

Among the friends of Erasmus in Spain must be mentioned first the king, the general inquisitor Manrique, and the archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso Fonseca. The latter was able to procure from the pope a decree prohibiting anyone to speak ill of Erasmus, and of course especially in the things that he says about Luther, the pope added. In the ecclesiastical centers Erasmus was thought of very highly;

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 129.

There was a saying: "Quien habla mal de Erasmo, o es fraile o es asno."[1]

Luis Vives, who, as pointed out already, was a disciple and close friend of Erasmus, was called to England by Henry VIII, where he taught theology at Oxford and also became the tutor of Princess Mary. He was in prison for six months for having reprimanded the king when he divorced Catherine of Aragon. He left England and went to Brussels, where he died in unimaginable poverty. The Inquisition tried many times to get hold of him, but they had to be satisfied just to burn his effigy. The influence of Erasmus and Vives in educational centers was very renowned. To Vives is to be given due credit for his advanced ideas relating to the education of women, something very modern for days like the ones in which he lived.[2]

Others who had very close friendship with the sage of Rotterdam were the three Cortona brothers, Juan, Francisco and Bernardino. They were imprisoned for having defended the works of Erasmus. Many others there were who defended Erasmus and his writings, such as Antonio Porras, a strong advocate of spreading the Bible in the vernacular, and Mateo

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1. Americo Castro, Santa Teresa y otros Ensayos, "Recordando a Erasmo" (Santander: Historia Nueva, 1929), p. 158.

2. Foster Watson, ed., Vives and the Renascence Education of Women (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1912).

Pascual, professor at the University of Alcala, who was also severely persecuted by the Inquisition.

Erasmus, the man who had been protected by the king, the Pope and even the Inquisitor General, came to be hated and persecuted. Manrique, the Inquisitor General, died, soon afterward the Bishop of Toledo also died. The king left Spain in one of his long tours through Europe and a new pope came to the See. There were left in Spain few people of influence to defend Erasmus and his works. The friars never had appreciated him, but on the contrary, from the very beginning of his life thought of him as a most dangerous man for their cause. Those who still cherished the sage of Rotterdam in Spain came under suspicion by the Holy Office, as we have seen.

Erasmus cannot be said to be either a typical Catholic or Protestant.[1] Neither can claim him; he was a man of his epoch, a man of transition. In 1536 he died within the pale of the Catholic Church. Perhaps greatly misunderstood, he has been thought of as a coward, as an evader, or as one who wished to stay in a happy medium, so as not to offend either side--and yet offending both. Maybe he had some of these unfortunate qualities, if they are unfortunate, but he

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1. Damaso Alonso, "La Injusticia Social en la Literatura Erasmista," La Nueva Democracia, Marzo 1943.

was above all a lover of peace, he wanted to see the Church reformed and not deformed, and he wanted to correct the evils from within. If Spain at that time was to be characterized as either Lutheran or Erasmian there is no doubt that it was Erasmian.

CHAPTER V

THE BIBLE IN SPAIN

Anyone going into Spain should take two books with him: Don Quijote as one, for it is a symbol of that race, and embraces the whole history of that people who have lived in an idealistic world where all the hopes of liberty and the reality of life have reverted to fantasy. To know Don Quijote, and of course Sancho, is to know the Spaniard, and to know him well. The concept that the man outside of Spain has formed of Don Quijote, even after reading Cervantes work two or three times, is usually as distorted as the concept that the outsider has of Spain. Spain is a Quixotic nation. The other book that the traveler should take is the Bible, because it will be hard for him to find one there. The idealism of Don Quijote found itself disintegrated by the unkindness of the people, by their misunderstanding. Is it not the same case with the Bible in Spain? For many a year religious Quijotes had appeared offering it, but some have misunderstood, and others have prevented its spread.

The English speaking world's knowledge about the Bible in Spain rests perhaps on the work that George Borrow wrote a

hundred years ago and which became very popular, not as a book about the Bible, but a book on travel and topography.[1] But there is much more in relation to the Bible in Spain than the work that this evangelist did, who went through almost every region of Spain spreading the gospel and giving Bibles to those desiring to read them. It has been very difficult for the Bible in Spanish to gain hold in the Peninsula. The ecclesiastical authorities, and more especially the Inquisition, curtailed the reading of it with all their power.

In the year 1233, Juan I of Aragon, by public edict, prohibited the use of any part of the Old or New Testament in the vernacular tongue and commanded all, whether laity or clergy, who possessed such books, to deliver them to their ordinaries to be burned, on the pain of being held suspected of heresy.[2] It is evident therefore that there were already some Bibles which had been translated into the Spanish language, which at that time was in its formation.

Not quite three decades later Don Alfonso el Sabio caused the Bible to be translated into Castilian with the

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1. George Borrow, The Bible in Spain (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., Everyman's Library, 1938).

2. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 190 (Hist. Collect., tom. VII).

purpose of improving the language of the people.[1] This Bible, although finished in 1260, could not be made popular because it had to be written by hand and because of the many difficulties, of time especially, which were encountered in those days. A copy of this translation of 1260 is still preserved in manuscript. There were other ancient versions of the Scriptures that were translated into the Limosin, and to Catalonian, and to Castilian dialects, which, according to Rodriguez de Castro, are still to be found in Paris and in the Escorial library. About 1400 Bonifacio Ferrer, prior of the Carthusian monastery of Portaceli in Valencia, translated the whole Bible into the Valencian dialect of Spain. In 1430 appeared the Bible of Alba, which was another version of the time previous to the printing press, and for which reason it was very difficult to make popular.

In 1478 Ferrier's Bible was printed in Valencia. It underwent the examination and correction of the inquisitor Jaime Borrell, but it had scarcely made its appearance when it was suppressed by the Inquisition. Also, Ferdinand and Isabella prohibited, under the severest penalties, any translating of the sacred scriptures into the vulgar tongues, or any use of it when translated by others. It was not until

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1. "Cuarto Centenario del Nuevo Testamento de Enzinas," La Nueva Democracia, September 1943, pp. 24 ff.

1793, when the French Revolution was passing into the Terror, that the first Spanish Bible was issued on that soil.[1] This was a ten volume Bible, and translated only from the Vulgate, and still preserving it in parallel columns. Four years later it was revised by its author, the bishop of Segovia, and this time it was a nineteen volume affair. Only a few had access to this bulky edition and very few became Bible readers through this version. But there were other editions of the Spanish Bible, although written and published outside of Spain whose influence was much greater than that of the Segovia Bible.

Among the famous names associated with the Spanish Bible is that of Francisco de Encinas, best known to the Anglo-Saxon world of those days by the name of Dryander. Francisco and his brother Jaime, after studying in Alcala, went to Louvain, a celebrated seat of education in those days. Their association with the reformed doctrines began to make a difference in their lives. From Louvain, Jaime went to Paris where he became an ardent defender of the Reformation. He also went to Antwerp where he was to superintend the printing of a Spanish catechism. His father asked him to go to Rome, where he lived for several years in great uneasiness of mind. Just when he was getting ready

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1. Eric M. North, The Book of a Thousand Tongues (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), pp. 304 ff.

to leave Italy for Germany he was accused by another Spaniard to the Inquisition. He was condemned to the flames, in 1546. His brother Francisco had settled in Wittenberg and was living there with Melanchthon. Then he went to the Low Countries, where he was going to engage in a work which promised to be of the greatest benefit for his native country: the translation of the New Testament into the Spanish language. Having finished his work, he submitted it to the judgment of the divines of Louvain. They refused to sanction or to censure the work, for although they knew that there was no law prohibiting the translation of the Bible into the vernacular they were afraid it would serve as a means of spreading heresy; and so, evading the whole question, they refused to make any comments, on the grounds that they were not very familiar with the Spanish tongue. He went back to Antwerp and there printed his New Testament translation in 1543, and dedicated it to the Emperor Charles V.[1] The emperor received the work while in Brussels, and promised Dryander that the work would have his patronage if it was found to contain nothing contrary to the faith, and so a copy was

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1. The work appeared under the title, "El Nuevo Testamento de Nuestro Redemptor y Salvador Jesu Christo, traducido de Griego en lengua Catellana, por Francisco Encinas, dedicado la Cesarea Magestad."

given to Pedro de Soto,[1] the emperor's confessor, to be examined. As was to be expected, the work was found to be heretical, and Francisco Enzinas was put in prison for fifteen months. He escaped and went to Wittenberg, where he became an associate of Melanchthon. His father, who was at this time living in Rome, asked him to come and visit him. When he was almost ready to go he discovered that it was a plot laid out by the Inquisition in order to get hold of him. In 1548 he went to England, on which occasion he was warmly recommended by Melanchthon to Edward VI and Archbishop Crammer, as a person of excellent endowments and learning, averse to all fanatical and seditious tenets, and distinguished by his piety and grave manners.[2] He went to Cambridge where he taught Greek. Later on he returned to Germany, where he died a victim of the plague. As his Testament was suppressed by imperial order, few copies of it survived.

In the same year that the New Testament of Enzinas came out there was a man by the name of Ferdinand Jarava who was printing in the Spanish tongue the seven penitential Psalms, the Song of Songs, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

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1. Soto afterward visited England and was incorporated into the faculty at Oxford, during the time of Mary. Nevertheless after his return to Spain was prosecuted by the Inquisition of Valladolid as suspected of heresy.

2. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 197 (Melanchthonis Epist., col. 494, 522, 911. Strupe's mem. of Crammer, p. 404).

He already had printed three years before the book of Job and the Psalms, for the office of the dead.[1]

The Jews had to go out of Spain, and could not take any property with them, but one thing only beside death could separate them from their religious convictions, and that was the language they had acquired while living in Spain. They appear to have had early translations of the Old Testament, or parts of it, in Spanish. Five years after they were expelled from the Peninsula, those who had settled in Venice printed the Pentateuch in Spanish. In 1547 this same work was printed in Constantinople in Hebrew characters, and in 1552 in Roman characters. The earliest Old Testament ever printed in the Spanish language is that known as the "Ferrara Bible". It was printed in 1553 under the patronage of the Duke of Ferrara. As these "Sephardim", or Spanish speaking Jews, preferred generally to read the Scriptures in Rabbinic letter, there is a whole series of Spanish publications listed under the head of "Judaeo-Spanish".[2]

By the middle of the sixteenth century the Word of God in the vulgar tongue was not confined to the northern European countries. It had already seen the light in Castillian dress and was spreading widely throughout all Europe

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 198 (Rodriguez de Castro, Biblia Espanola, Tom I, p. 449).

2. North, op. cit., p. 307.

among the many Spaniards who had to flee their country. Men from the Peninsula who had gone to study abroad or were compelled to live abroad because of their adherence to faiths denounced by the Inquisition, longed to see their own people enjoy the same blessing of which they had been able to partake. Many labored against difficulties to make possible the printing of the Bible in Spanish. Others risked their lives, and some lost their lives, trying to smuggle into Spain the forbidden Bibles. Among these was Julian Hernandez, surnamed "Julianillo", who in 1557 succeeded in conveying across the Netherlands and landing safely at Seville two barrels filled with Spanish New Testaments and the Psalter. Ultimately the Inquisition trapped him and he paid the penalty with his life.

These books smuggled into Spain by Julianillo came from Geneva where a Spaniard, Juan Perez had translated the New Testament. Juan Perez had been one of the trusted men of Charles V and he was the one who went to Rome to procure from the Pope the suspension of the decree by which Spanish divines had condemned the writings of Erasmus. He also had been head of the College of Doctrine in Seville and honored with the degree of doctor of divinity in Spain. In Geneva and in France he was greatly esteemed both because of his talents and his probity. The works which he composed in Spanish were of the most valuable kind. His version of the

New Testament, "El Testamento Nuevo de nuestro Senor y Salvador Jesu Christo, Nueva y fielmente traduzido del original Griego en Romance Castellano. En Venecia, en casa de Juan Philadelpho, MDLVI," was not dedicated to the emperor but "Al todo podereso Rey de cielos y tierra Jesu Christo." Besides this New Testament he also published several of the works of his countryman Juan Valdes, whom we will meet in the next chapter. Juan Perez died in Paris after living a life of indefatigable activity for the spread of the Word of God. Before his death he bequeathed all his fortune to the printing of the Bible in his native tongue.[1]

The task which he left unfinished but for the conclusion of which he had provided, was carried on by Casidoro de la Reyna. De la Reyna, after ten years of labor, produced a translation of the whole Bible, which was printed in 1569 at Basle. He was one of the many Spaniards who had to leave his country because of the religious intolerance. This Bible of de la Reyna is the one that has served as the basis for most of the later Spanish Bibles, and was called "La Biblia Oso", for it had a bear printed on the cover. The University of Basilea helped him with the printing of the work. Two thousand six hundred copies were printed, and by 1596 all of them had been disposed of. Reyna came to be

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 201 (Bezae Icones, sig. Ii, iij).

recognized as an honored citizen of Frankfort, where he died in 1594.

Cipriano de Valera carried on the work that had been undertaken by Perez and de la Reyna. Valera had to leave Spain in 1557 and went to England, where he became the pastor of the Spanish speaking Church in London. While in London he published the New Testament in Spanish in the year 1569. This New Testament was practically the same as the one of de la Reyna, but with slight alterations. In 1602 he published the complete Bible in Amsterdam. Three years before, in 1599, there was an edition printed in England which was also Valera's, but which was not so well corrected as the one of Amsterdam. This edition came out with the name of Ricardo del Campo, for it was printed in the shop of Richard Field and was the one that gained the most popularity. Even up to our days it takes the place in Spanish that the King James version occupies in English.

Valera's place among the Spanish reformers is perhaps the best known by both adherents and adversaries of the Reformation. He came to be called by the Roman Church, "The Spanish Heretic", and considered as the most dangerous one. This can be understood when we look at his various works. He wrote many treatises dealing with the Pope, among them: "El Papa y su Autoridad", and "Tratado de la Misa". Others of his well known works are "Enjambre de los Falsos Milagros",

"Tratado para confirmar la Fe de los Cristianos de Berberia", "Institucion de la Religion Cristiana" and "El Catecismo Reformado".

There were other versions of the Bible about which, however, we know very little. In the sixteenth century there was published a version of the Bible in Spanish for the use of the Mohammedans. In 1530 there appeared a version of the four gospels under the title, "Vita de Cristo Cartujano", which was dedicated to the Catholic sovereigns. Four years later, Valdes translated into Spanish the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles. Since these days many other attempts have been made to translate the Bible into the language of the people.[1] Some versions have been better than

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1. Some other versions, old and also recent, are: Old Testament, Yom Tob Atias, in Italy in 1553, edited from an old manuscript version by Abraham Usque. This was later revised by Menasseh Ben Israel in Amsterdam in 1630. Valera's version was revised over and over: in Amsterdam by Lorenzo Iacabi; the first BFBS edition of this New Testament was in 1806 and the whole Bible in 1861; the first ABS edition of the New Testament in 1845, and the whole Bible in 1865. In 1909 J. B. Cabrera and C. Tornos published another revised edition. A translation from the Vulgate was the Amat version, Madrid 1825, revised in 1837. The Bible of Vence is in Latin and in Spanish with notes; translated from the French of Vence, was the first Spanish Bible, published in Latin America. The work was finished in 1833 in Mexico and it is in twenty-five volumes. There is a modern version translated from the originals and compared with the revised and with the authorized English version, and also with that of de la Reyna and of Amat. In 1916 was published the Version Hispanoamericana del Nuevo Testamento under the direction of the British and Foreign Bible Society. In 1919 appeared the New Testament of Pablo Besson in Buenos Aires. Cuarto Centernario del Nuevo Testamento, op. cit., pp. 24ff; also North, op. cit., pp. 304 ff.

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others, and the difficulties encountered are about the same as were met by the translators of the English versions of the Bible.

The Inquisition in Spain knew that the publication of the Bible in the vernacular was more dangerous than any reformer himself, and therefore they persecuted the Bible with even more earnestness than they did the reformers. The main doctrines of the Reformation were to be found supported by the Bible, but the innovations of the Roman Church were not to be found as having Biblical vindication. Furthermore, the Romanists considered the reading of the Bible, and especially the individual interpretation that was so much encouraged by certain reformers, was the root of all heresies, and on that claim they persecuted the Book. They knew there was no better seed for the reformation than the Bible, and that no better propagandist for anti-Roman ideas could be found than the Bible. With all their strength they managed not only to extirpate the products of the reformation but the seed of the reformation--the Bible. Few Bibles escaped the flames of the Inquisition. Yet the Inquisition aroused the curiosity of many learned men who became anxious to read the book that was so dangerous in the eyes of Rome, and so wonderful for those persecuted. And it is also true that thirst for knowledge, when once excited, is irresistible; and tyranny, when

it goes beyond a certain point inspires its victims with daring and ingenuity. So we find Julianillo and many others bringing the forbidden Book into the forbidden land.

CHAPTER VI

VOICES OF THE REFORMATION

The procession of the reformers of Spain was a long one. Their voices were heard throughout all Europe and even in the New World. England and Germany sheltered many of them and we now know about them through the works and the memoirs that they left, especially in those two countries. Very little is known about those that had to stay in Spain and who suffered the consequences of their beliefs under the Inquisition; most of the information accessible in relation to the Spanish reformers is about those who were able to escape from their native country, and as sojourners in a foreign land became the prophets of their "terra irredenta".

The history of a nation or of a great movement is always written in terms of the men who were the leaders. "There were giants in those days" of the Reformation, and Spain produced many of them. To conclude this sketch of the genesis of the Spanish Reformation, let us point out some of those men so intimately devoted to a cause which, although it appeared so hopeful and promising, has almost passed into oblivion or is thought of by some as a fantastic dream

which never became a reality.

History contains paradoxical personalities, and the movement under consideration tends to be no exception to the rule. In the days that Philip II was in England the persecution of the English Reformed Church was one of the most bloody ones. Philip had taken with him a Dominican friar by the name of Bartolome Carranza, whose eloquence and statesmanship had procured for him a great name; he had been in Rome representing his order and also at the Council of Trent. While in England he became the confessor of Queen Mary. The actions of the queen no doubt were greatly influenced by this monk. Queen Mary started the persecution of the Reformers. The English people knew that behind the queen's orders there was Carranza, whom they wished they could get hold of; unfortunately, he was protected by the royal guard. England in those days became once again a pool of blood and now instead of Roman Catholics, the blood of Anglicans as Hooper, Latimer and Crammer was among that shed. Carranza, or the "Black Friar", as he came to be known in England because of his somewhat dark complexion, black habit, and black character, was sent by the king to the Low Countries to see if he could do the same thing that he had done in England, that is, what they thought he had done--suppress the Reformation.

And Carranza, "yet breathing, threatening and slaughtering against" the reformers, went to the continent. But

the "Black friar" turned out to be another Saul. While in the Low Countries he became converted to the reformers' ideas, perhaps more by witnessing the faith and the great convictions of the many martyrs whose death he sought than by doctrine. Nevertheless, he came back to Toledo as the primate of the Church, but a few months after his arrival he was denounced to the Inquisition and was thrown into prison. The reason for his persecution, rather than a doctrinal reason, was the envy of Melchior Cano, bishop of Canarias, who was anxious to become Archbishop of Toledo,[1] and of course, after having been accused, it was easy to find grounds for persecution. He had written a catechism where many Lutheran heresies could be found. He also was accused by a monk of his same order as an ardent admirer of Erasmus and defender of his works.[2] His opponents communicated to the Grand Inquisitor that Carranza's opinions concerning the Atonement of Christ, justification by faith, and the doctrine that good works were only necessary as a proof of faith, were more than sufficient for him to be condemned.[3] Other writings were produced, such as letters written to Juan Valdes, sermons, and other writings besides his catechism.

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 323 (Llorente, III, 246).

2. Gordon, The Inquisition, p. 24.

3. Wilkens, Spanish Protestants in the Sixteenth Century, p. 153.

Carranza was in prison in Valladolid and also in Rome. It was a very long imprisonment and when at last, in 1576, sentence of judgment was given, he heard it with tears, and died less than three weeks later in Rome. The persecution of the primate gave rise to others: eight bishops and twenty-five doctors of theology, including men of the greatest learning in Spain came under the persecution of the Holy Office. Luis de la Cruz, a favorite disciple of Carranza, was thrown into the secret prisons.

Connected with Carranza by means of letters and possibly by interviews were the Valdes brothers, Alfonso and Juan. Alfonso, whom we have met with in a previous chapter, was the same one who was secretary to Charles V and a defender of Erasmus and his works. Like Carranza he was a great defender of the Roman Church, but while traveling through Europe and becoming acquainted with the reformers and their writings he became a most ardent reformer. He was persecuted by the Holy Office but was set at liberty through the emperor's influence. He left Spain and went to Germany, where he escaped the Inquisition, but not the great plague that was ravaging Germany at that time.

Alfonso's brother Juan left Spain shortly after his brother did. He was a close friend of Erasmus and he knew the Inquisition was on his trail. Juan had also been in the company of the emperor as his personal chaplain, and later

he was appointed secretary to the viceroy of Sicily, for which post he settled in Naples. There he became well known as an Erasmist and even as a reformer while still within the pale of the Roman Church. In Naples he had a reformed church which was attended by the best of the aristocracy of that city and many high ecclesiastics.[1] Juan Valdes and his followers thought truly that the Church needed to be reformed, yet they did not seek a radical break with Rome. If it had not been for the fanatical Inquisition who knows how far the Reformation in Spain would have gone! But the Inquisition was against everything that was not strictly Roman and unreformed, and without consideration regarded it as heretical.

The Holy Office was also in search of a group of people who were nursing the mystical theology which had been introduced into Spain. The works of Tauler were well known by Valdes, and he was influenced by them. Yet Valdes was more intellectual and speculative than the mystic divines, as can be seen in his works, where he exhibits the rationale of their creed rather than an exemplification of their mode of writing and even hazards some sentiments which gave great offense to several of the reformers.[2] Among other votaries

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1. Marin, Historia de la Reforma en Espana, p. 84.

2. Beza was chiefly offended with Valdes for leading his readers from the Scriptures to the revelation of the Spirit. In the Divine Considerations he even goes so far

(continued on next page)

to mystic theology besides Valdes we find Juan de Avila, Luis de Granada, confessor to the queen regent of Portugal, Saint Francis de Borgia, duke of Gandia. All these and many others were prosecuted by the Inquisition as mystics or illuminati.

Valdes wrote extensively, many of his works reaching the Peninsula, and some were even published there. Among his books are: A translation of the New Testament, "Comentario de los Salmos", "Las Ciento y Diez Consideraciones", "El Alfabeto Cristiano", "Dialogos de la Lengua", "Mercurio y Caron" and "El credo de la Iglesia Reformada". A year after his death, which was in 1540, his teachings under the name of "Valdesianism" were arraigned in Naples by a special Inquisitor. Many of his followers and friends were proscribed and put to death, and his writings narrowly escaped destruction.

Rodrigo de Valer was a native of Lebrixa, Andalucia. His life had been that of a typical well-to-do man of his day, horses, hunting, and gambling occupying most of his time. But a strange transformation was observed in the life of

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(footnote continued) as to say that "by seven conformities it is shown that the Holy Scripture is like a candle in a dark place, and that the Holy Spirit is like the sun." Luis Usoz i Rio, Ziento I diez Consideraciones de Juan de Valdes (Published in Spain, 1863), p. 209.

Valer almost overnight. He now lived like a Franciscan monk. He devoted himself to learning Latin in order to read the Bible, which could hardly be procured in the vernacular. Soon he was found in the streets expounding the teachings of the Bible or openly talking about the need of a reformation in the Church. He pointed out the evils among the priests and in the monasteries, and insisted on the necessity for the conversion of a priest before he could fulfill the duties of his office. At first this "fervor divino" was taken for lunacy, and the street preacher was left alone. But it was not to be expected that he would be long permitted to continue in this offensive course. He was brought before the inquisitors, with whom he maintained a keen dispute on the Church and its doctrines. He favored the doctrine of justification by faith alone. He would have been set free on grounds of lunacy but the Inquisitors saw in his keen mind a dangerous foe. Valer had many friends among the high and noble, and these were the ones who influenced the Inquisotors into giving a sentence of lunacy or something similar, but Valer was becoming very dangerous, so his property was confiscated and later he was confined in a monastery and also made to wear the "San-benito". Rodrigo may not have been free from error on some points, but he was certainly

not mad.[1] A man full of divine energy, although a fool in the opinion of the world, he could not have failed to influence his contemporaries.

The most distinguished of Valer's converts was Juan Gil, commonly called Doctor Egido, who, after obtaining the highest academic honors at Alcala, was appointed professor of divinity at Siguenza. Later he was called to the office of canon-magistral in the cathedral of Seville. Doctor Egido proved to be a very good scholar, but not so good a preacher while in Seville. There he came in contact with Valer, who helped him so much in his homiletical difficulty that he turned to be the most popular preacher in Andalucia. Instead of the frigid manner in which he had been accustomed to acquit himself in the pulpit he turned to preach with powerful appeal to the consciences and affectionate addresses to the hearts of his auditors. It was not long before the Holy Office sought to find grounds to prosecute the great preacher.

The inquiry went against him and he was confined in the old Moorish castle of Triana, where he wrote his "Apology".

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1. His sanbenito, which was hung in the metropolitan church of Seville, long attracted curiosity by its extraordinary size, and the inscription which it bore: "Rodrigo Valer, a citizen of Lebrixa and Seville, an apostate, and false apostle who pretended to be sent of God." Wilkens, op. cit., p. 75. Also M'Crie, History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain, pp. 150-152.

The Chapter appealed to the emperor on his behalf. The prisoner wanted to have Fuente and Carranza for his advocates, but these could not be procured, so Domingo Soto came as his arbiter. If the account of the event be true, the accused was overreached by artifice, for Soto recited a different formula from that which he had prearranged; and Gil, ignorant of the fact, stationed at a distant point where he could not hear the preacher, gave assent to points he had not understood, and thereby convicted himself. He was condemned to three years imprisonment, was forbidden to quit Spain, inhibited from preaching for ten years, and received other penalties. Before his expiatory punishment was complated he died in Valladolid in 1556. His bones were afterwards taken from the grave and committed to the flames and his memory declared infamous. Among his writings, some of which were the outcome of prison leisure, he left an exposition on the book of Genesis, the Psalms, the Song of Songs, and the Epistle to the Corinthians, and a treatise on the Cross which is highly praised by the historian De Montes.[1]

Another champion of the reform movement won by Valer was Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente of no less great talents than Doctor Egido. From very early in his life he was

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 169 (Histoire des Martyrs, pp. 500, 501; Montanus, p. 273); Wilkens, op. cit., pp. 76-80; Marin, op. cit., p. 105.

considered a champion of culture, and while professor at the university of Alcala had made himself famous for his learning and true nobility of character. His acute mind revived the dry philosophy taught in Alcala and his great eloquence made him one of the best esteemed preachers of Spain. He was one of the "Biblists" of Alcala; this was the name by which Bible scholars were called. His ideas were not as radical as those of Doctor Egido or Valer, for he had great veneration for all the sacraments, ritual, vows, and tradition; yet doctrinally he was ahead of his times. He desired to see the Church reformed, without innovation, without fanaticism, and above all without compulsion. He saw in Luther a revolutionary and was much dissatisfied with the methods the German reformers had used.

Charles V took Ponce de la Fuente on one of his tours through Europe as his special preacher. While traveling he came in contact with Lutherans and Calvinists, with Zwinglian and Anglicans, but he did not become any of them, nor agree with any one of them as a whole. He returned to Spain, where he was elected to one of the highest posts a priest could occupy in the Peninsula, Canon Magistral. It was while performing his duties in his office that the Inquisition came after him. Some Lutheran prisoners, arrested by the Office, compromised him so fatally that the Inquisition resolved to apprehend him secretly. Afterwards he was again accused of

concealing Lutheran literature. The books were produced, among which were found books of the German reformers and also books by Constantino himself. Among his works was a Catechism of which only the first part had been printed when he was apprehended. He also was the author of Tratado de la Doctrina Cristiana, which was from very early time translated and published in Italian. Among the books of Constantino that were placed on the Index were: La Confesion de un Pecador, El Catecismo Cristiano, Dialogo sobre la Doctrina Cristiana and Exposicion de los Salmos. In an auto de fe held in December of 1560 his effigy was burned.[1]

There were many others like these persons just mentioned, who saw the necessity for a reformation in the Church. As in the days of Apostolic Christianity they met behind closed doors, and there they planned the best way to reform the Church. No doubt the only possible way was by practicing the Christianity which their consciences dictated to them even at the expense of being brought before the Inquisitors. To mention the names of all the leaders of the reform movement in Spain would be an impossible task, for although many of them have been preserved the Inquisition did a very efficient job in suppressing even their memory. The time came

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1. Gordon, op. cit., pp. 203-214; M'Crie, op. cit., pp. 156 ff; Wilkens, op. cit., pp. 81-105.

when the reformed Church gathered together for its own worship service and the Inquisition, knowing of this, came and took all of them prisoners. It is recorded that in the course of a few days the Inquisitors of Seville were able to seize over eight hundred prisoners who were taken to the prison of Triana.[1] What happened to them there is not known, but the Inquisition probably did what it thought had to be done to any dissenter.

Though we can not mention all the reformers and their work we must not pass over the attempts of reform that occurred right within the walls of the Monastery of Saint Hisidore. By the middle of the sixteenth century there was a reformed Church in Seville which, despite the close watch of the Holy Office, met regularly and had among its members many of the nobility of that city, among them, Juan Ponce de Leon, son of the Count of Baylen, and Domingo Guzman, son of the duke of Medina and high member of the order of Saint Dominic. The reformed doctrines had made their way into most of the institutions of Seville. They found advocates in the convent of Saint Elizabeth, in the Dominican monastery of Saint Paul, but especially in the Hieronymite convent of San Isidoro del Campo. The influence of Dr. Egido and Valer was felt in San Isidoro, but perhaps the one that contributed the most to

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1. Marin, op. cit., p. 111.

changing the views of the monks was Garcia de Arias, commonly called Doctor Blanco on account of the extreme whiteness of his hair. Doctor Blanco was a reformer at heart, but he was vacillating in conduct, partly because of timidity and partly because of caution and excess of refinement. While in San Isidoro he preached and taught the monks something that they thought was a new religion, for it was very different from what they were practicing. He aroused in them a spirit of inquiry after a purer and more edifying piety. The reading of the Bible became a daily affair, and the monastery very soon was leavened with the new ideas, in consequence of which the prior and other official persons, in concurrence with the fraternity, agreed to reform their religious institute. The influence of the change that San Isidore underwent was felt in towns far from Seville, and many men like Juan de Regla, prior of Santa Fe, provincial of the Hieronymites in Spain and one of the divines of the council of Trent during its second convocation, and also Francisco de Villalba, another of the divines of Trent and preacher to Charles V.

The matter of a reformation within the walls of a monastery was something very delicate and new in the history of the Reformation. The monks of San Isidoro, though desirous of having a real reformation and commendable as it was, yet found themselves in a situation both delicate and painful. They were attached to monastic forms and rules

which they could not throw off without exposing themselves to the fury of their enemies nor yet could they continue to be attached to them without to a certain degree acting hypocritically. In this dilemma, they held a consultation on the propriety of deserting the monastery and going to a foreign land where they could worship in peace of mind and according to the dictates of their conscience. After giving due consideration to the matter it was thought that it was impossible for the whole community to be able to escape, so another chapter was held where they decided that everyone should be left at liberty to adopt the course that he thought best, due to the fact that it was impossible for all of them to leave at once.[1]

Accordingly, twelve of the order left the monastery. A few days after they left, it was discovered by the Holy Office, and the persecution burst on the heads not only of those who remained at San Isidoro but on all the religious houses of Spain. There were many members of the order who were brought before the Inquisition, and many of them were sent to the stake, such as Cristobal de Arellano, Juan de Leon, and Juan Sastre. The Inquisition gave a death blow to that flame which was born within the walls of a monastery.

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., pp. 222 ff., 245 ff. (Cipriano de Valera, Dos Tratados, Montanus, Llorente); Marin, op. cit., pp. 114 ff.

Not even in the monasteries, the seat of learning of the Middle Ages, could men embrace a religion which was the result of sincere beliefs and devotion. The infernal machinery of the Inquisition, with the pope, the emperor and the grand inquisitor as its most efficient satellites would not allow any variance from the Pharisaic rule of Rome.

To continue recording and enumerating the punishment, anguish, and torture suffered by those reformers who were accused of heresy would be only once again to disturb the mire that impregnates the Roman Church and that marks not only the most disgraceful epoch in Spanish history, but also one of the most shameful spots of Christianity. Yet it will be unfair to Spain, that country so much misunderstood, and also unfair to Christianity, to think of its history only in terms of the dark clouds that covered it and to forget the bright beams of light shining with all their purity from behind that gross darkness. The history of the Reformation in Spain must be written some day from its true perspective, and a due place must be given not only to Torquemada or to Philip II but also to men like Valera, Reyna, Cazalla, Juan and Alfonso Valdes, Julian Hernandez, Ponce de la Fuente, Ripoll, and San Roman, to men like the martyrs of Zaragoza, Uzos y Rio, Matamorros, Cabrera, Carrasco and many others who lifted high the banner of true Christianity and marched on to the

stake with a clear conscience and a bright hope, seeing within the smoke that rose from the "hoquera" the words:

"In hoc signo vinces!"

CONCLUSION

The facts that have been brought forward form the "Genesis of the Spanish Reformation". By so terming it we bring the history of the religious awakening in Spain into its right perspective where it may occupy the place that it deserves among the great movements of history.

We cannot view the religious history of Spain only from what it is now; neither can we judge it by the failures and mistakes that surround it. Athens will be remembered not because of its actual conditions or by the failures and vicissitudes which it underwent; but because of the men whom it produced and the ideas for which they stood. Why, then, cast into oblivion the memory of those champions who gave their lives for the cause of purifying the Church they loved and cherished? Perhaps the Inquisition is not given due credit, for its aim still has been accomplished by the fact that it seems to have succeeded in burning not only the men whom it persecuted but their names also! The many events that come to form the genesis of the Reformation are not well known or understood, mostly because of prejudice, sloth, or ignorance.

To refer to the "Reformation in Spain" as something definite is, of course, questionable, but the "Genesis of the Reformation in Spain" is something definite in itself, clear and bright as the sky of Andalucia. Moreover, it is peculiarly Spanish, in its national and its religious aspects. Since very early times the hope for reformation arose within the pale of the Church, proclaimed by its priests, genuine and true Spaniards. Long before Luther or Calvin there were reformers in Spain, advocating the purification of religious beliefs and actions. The reformers from the outside of Spain served as an incentive which stimulated and encouraged the desire for reform. Spain never thought to copy from England's or from Germany's reformation: it was to be a Spanish reformation. Why, then, was this genuine movement not able to crystallize in the same way it did in France, Germany and England? Because Spain had to encounter most peculiar and unprecedented difficulties which resisted its progress.

During the early days of Christianity the Apostles had the external liberty of preaching the Gospel and if persecuted in one city they went to another and there they found a door opened to them. In Germany the reformers were enabled to proclaim their doctrines from the pulpits and the press under the protection of feudal lords and princes, and likewise in Scotland. In England the national character of the

nation under the protection of the king was favorable for religious enlightenment and independence from Rome. In France, a Hugenot could not be seized without the concurrence and orders of magistrates, who sometimes proved reluctant and dilatory, and it was the same case in many Italian states.[1] But not one of these advantages was enjoyed by the advocates of the Reformation in Spain. Instead we find in Spain the most hideous machinery of persecution under the name of "Holy Office". Had these obstructions to the reformed doctrines not been so great and infernal, no doubt the Reformation would have burst into a flame which no pope, no king, and no inquisitor would have been able to extinguish. This anticipation is not just the wishful thinking of one who would have cherished very highly the consolidation of the genesis of the Reformation in Spain, but the deliberately expressed sentiments of its decided enemies. One Roman Catholic writer says:

> Had not the Inquisition taken care in time to put a stop to these preachers, the reformed religion would have run through Spain like wildfire; people of all ranks, and of both sexes, having been wonderfully disposed to receive it.[2]

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1. M'Crie, op. cit., p. 235.

2. Ibid., p. 236 (Paramo, Historia Inquisitionis: Preface to Spanish Martyrology, in Geddes's Miscell.).

The genesis of the Reformation in Spain was among the learned, and it did not reach the populace. This, of course is a strong reason why "the egg of the Reformation did not hatch" in Spain. It never seems to have reached the people of the land, most unfortunately! "Such a movement," observed Archbishop Trench, "is more likely to spread upwards from below than to permeate downwards from above."[1]

The testimony of another Roman adherent is equally strong:

> All the prisoners in the inquisition of Valladolid, Seville, and Toledo, were persons abundantly well-qualified. I shall here pass over their names in silence, that I may not, by their bad fame, stain the honour of their ancestors, and the nobility of several illustrious families which were infected with this poison. And as these prisoners were persons thus qualified, so their number was so great, that had the stop put to that evil been delayed two or three months longer, I am persuaded all Spain would have been set in a flame by them.[2]

"Honor to whom honor is due" is something that the world has forgotten in relation to the religious history of Spain, especially concerning that great army of Baptist-like reformers who appeared in the Peninsula of Iberia like a "vox clamantis in deserto". Their bodies were burned by the flames

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1. Wilkens, op. cit., p. xvii.

2. M'Crie, op. cit., 237 (Illescas, Historia Pontifical, Tom II, f. 451.

of the Inquisition, and their works and deeds seem to have been forgotten by an ungrateful history. But the day must come when their memories and deeds will be rescued from the graves of ages past, and their vitalizing influence, felt by men of good-will, be carried on beyond the memorable genesis of the Spanish Reformation.

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